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ABSTRACT

This case study analyzed the management of the retrenchment for the California Academic Partnership Program (CAPP) from two perspectives: the functionalist perspective and the radical structuralist view. CAPP is a program supporting higher education faculty-secondary school teacher partnerships to improve secondary education. The California recession caused modest funding reductions for the program in 1991 and 1992 and perhaps more drastic reductions in 1993. The functionalist position which emphasizes the status quo, harmony and the social order and views conflict as transient and pathological, emerged from the CAPP program in various statements and actions of the CAPP director who recommended across-the-board cuts in proposed budget scenarios. The radical structuralist view targets attention on conflict and contradiction and were expressed by other CAPP participants who saw continued program reductions as changing the essential nature of the CAPP program. These individuals advocated radical program change rather than reductions. Overall, both perspectives illuminate and expand understanding of value-laden decisions revolving around the retrenchment response. An appendix lists key acronyms. Contains 16 references. (JB)

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The California Academic Partnership Program

A Case Study of Retrenchment From Two Different Perspectives

ED 374 696

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The California Academic Partnership Program (CAPP) is a state-established and state-funded school/college collaborative effort. CAPP is based on the premise that partnerships of higher education faculty, working together with committed secondary school teachers and administrators, can improve the curriculum, the effectiveness with which it is taught, and positively affect students' preparation for college. Since the inception of the program in 1984, CAPP has provided nearly $10 million to support 40 academic partnerships. Some 145 separate institutions from all five segments of California education, from all major geographic regions of the state, have joined in CAPP efforts. Further, more than 3,000 faculty and staff have participated in CAPP project activities, directly or indirectly affecting more than 130,000 students. Over one million students have also taken diagnostic tests developed and scored by CAPP-sponsored assessment projects.

As a state-funded program, CAPP has been impacted by the recessionary economy and overall reduced state funding for education. At both the secondary and postsecondary levels, decreased funding has led to program reduction or elimination, overall cutbacks, and the general restructuring of the educational enterprise. CAPP has not been immune to the challenges posed by retrenchment. The use of different analytical paradigms to interpret reactions to change furthers an understanding of this phenomenon. Different frameworks also illuminate the various social contexts and underlying power relations that have become more evident in these times of economic tension.

This paper presents a case study analyzing the management of the retrenchment for the CAPP program from two such perspectives. An introductory overview of the CAPP program first details program background, goals, mission, administration, and funding history. The setting for retrenchment is then described, along with the alternative frameworks for viewing social reality. The specific details of current circumstances of retrenchment are then described from both the functionalist perspective and the radical structuralist view. The conclusion of the paper outlines the validity and usefulness of this approach in illustrating new aspects of the management of retrenchment.

Semi-structured interviews with program administrators and other key informants, a detailed review of program documents, and observational assessment of program governance meetings all contributed to the analysis presented in this paper. A list of references found at the end of this paper outlines the various sources utilized in the preparation of this case study; however, for ease of reading, specific citations are omitted from the text itself. A glossary in the Appendix of this paper also clarifies some of the many acronyms found in this case study.

Program Background

In California, the potential for school/college partnerships was first recognized by the California Legislature through the Hughes-Hart Educational Reform Act of 1983 (Senate Bill 813). The legislation authorized the creation of CAPP, with the intent to:

> *. . . provide academic and counseling services to students in grades 7 to 12, and to increase the involvement of postsecondary educational institutions in efforts to improve the academic quality of public secondary schools.*

In 1984, the California Legislature passed Assembly Bill 2398, which expanded and further modified the primary goal of the CAPP program, specifically to develop:

> *. . . cooperative efforts to improve the academic quality of public secondary schools with the object of improving the preparation of all students for college.*

CAPP's concept of this "cooperative effort" is based on mutual collaboration in serving the interests of all partner institutions, secondary and postsecondary. CAPP supports the involvement of college and university faculty with the anticipation that the insights and understandings they gain will influence positively attitudes and behaviors in their own institutions as they relate to schools and the students from these schools.

CAPP Mission

The overall mission of CAPP is to foster and enable partnerships between California school districts and postsecondary institutions as a means to create improved learning, academic preparation, and access opportunities for students in middle schools and high schools. The primary goal of these partnerships centers on enabling more students, especially those underrepresented in higher education, to successfully complete baccalaureate degree programs. To achieve this end, CAPP supports real, durable, and effective school/college partnerships aimed at:

- transforming the relationships between educational institutions in ways that directly benefit students;
- improving curriculum in subject areas required for admission to college;

- strengthening teachers' capacities to enable all students to learn this curriculum;
- enhancing the ability of students to benefit from these changes; and
- improving postsecondary understanding of these students' unique needs.

For the purpose of the program, "underrepresented students" include those students from: ethnic groups historically underrepresented in California colleges and universities (African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and recent immigrants from Southeast Asia); low-income families; geographic areas with low participation rates in postsecondary education; and persons with disabilities.

CAPP funds four types of partnerships in three-year funding cycles: curriculum development, assessment, dissemination, and planning grant projects. Since program inception in 1984, three funding cycles have been completed. The fourth CAPP funding cycle is scheduled to commence effective with the 1993-94 academic year.

The curriculum development partnerships involve teams of subject matter experts and administrators from public schools, and public or private colleges and universities working together to improve student learning in college preparatory courses. CAPP curriculum projects focus efforts on textbook assessment and curriculum development, diagnostic testing, and teacher in-service training, in conjunction with existing curriculum reform efforts.

Assessment partnerships provide diagnostic assessment and related services to assist teachers in evaluating the effectiveness of instruction and curriculum in subject areas critical to success in higher education. These partnership assist students, parents, teachers and counselors to understand what concepts and skills students have mastered, and which need further study. At present, CAPP funds only one assessment project–the Mathematics Diagnostic Testing Project (MDTP). The MDTP was jointly developed by the University of California (UC) and the California State University (CSU) systems in 1983. To secure long-term funding for the program, the MDTP was included as part of the CAPP program in the school reform package of 1983, despite opposition from the creators of the CAPP model. As a result, given the large size of this statewide testing effort, approximately one-third of the entire CAPP budget is devoted to this one project.

Dissemination partnerships support successful CAPP curriculum development projects in the distribution of the outcomes or process of the projects, in the expansion of project efforts, in the provision of mentoring or technical assistance to other partnerships, or in additional research or evaluation studies. Finally, planning grant projects, first implemented in 1989, support partnership development efforts for one-year periods prior to each three-year funding cycle, in order to provide a planning period in advance of curriculum development funding.

Program Administration

Responsibility for administration of CAPP was placed with the Chancellor of the CSU,

in cooperation with the chief executives of the other public education segments in California. At the time the program was established, the UC system was already supporting one intersegmental program, the Mathematics, Engineering, and Science Achievement (MESA) program. Similarly, the community college segment was funding numerous efforts to articulate vocational programs between the secondary and postsecondary levels, commonly known as 2 + 2 projects. Consequently, in order to achieve parity among the three major postsecondary educational segments, CAPP's enabling legislation authorized the housing of the program within the CSU system. Given the substantial dependence on state dollars for general operations within the CSU compared to the other postsecondary segments, this decision would come to have substantial consequences in the growing fiscal crisis within the state.

A 12-person CAPP Advisory Committee is appointed by the chief executives of the UC, CSU, and community college system, the California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC), and the Student Aid Commission. At least one of the two appointees from each educational segment is a faculty member. Eight liaison designess also serve as resource persons: four appointed from the ranks of the central administrative staff of the public education segments, one representative of the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities (AICCU), and a member from the Intersegmental Coordinating Council (ICC). Moreover, one representative from the CAPP partnerships, elected by project leaders, represents the interests of the CAPP projects on the Committee.

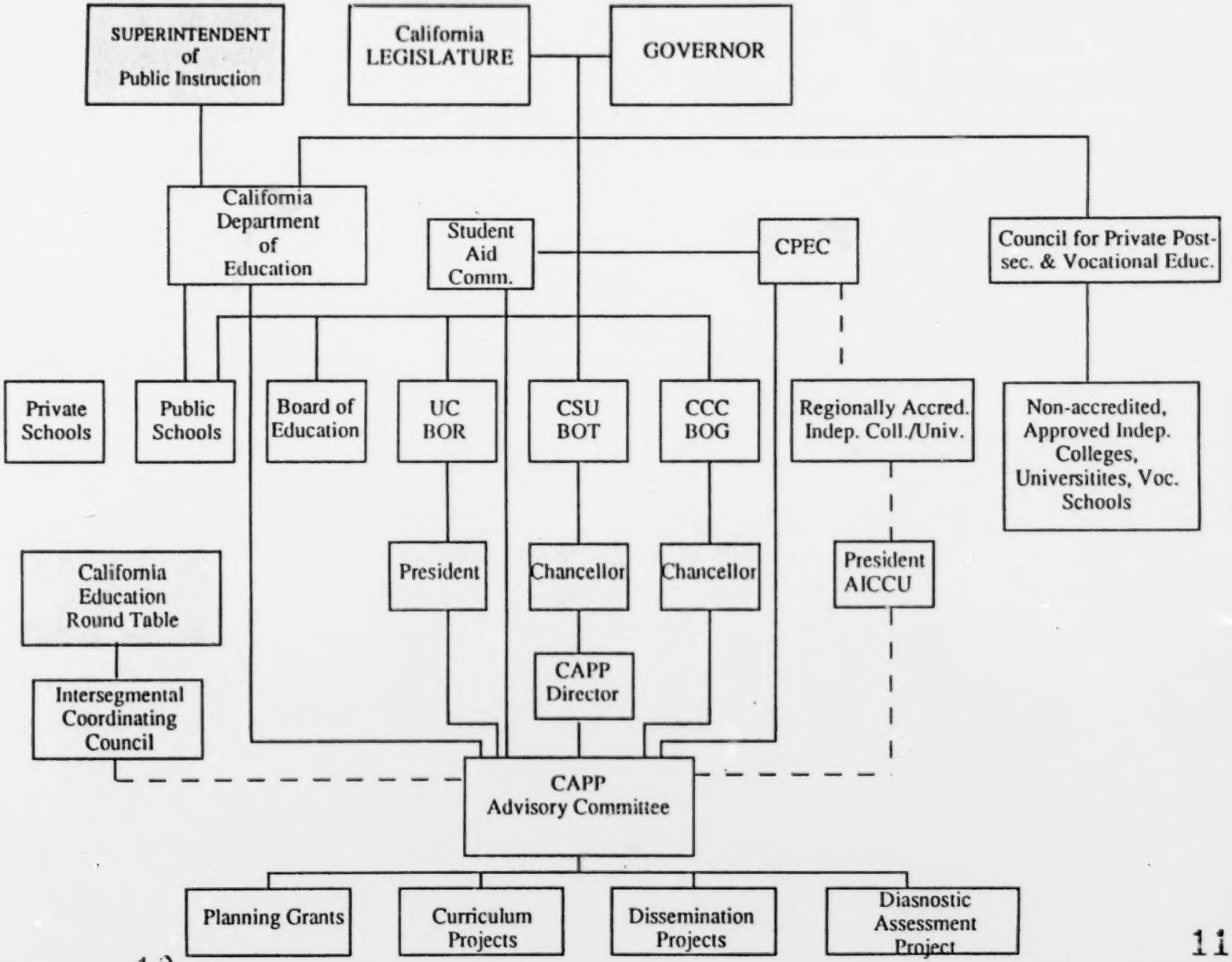
Believing that the challenges facing the state require the cooperation of the public and private sector, the Committee in 1991 expanded the program to involve the business community in the CAPP program. As a result, a representative from the California Educational Partnership Consortium (CEPC), an already-existing organization targeting joint school-business efforts, joined the Advisory Committee. The organizational chart on the following page illustrates this structure in greater detail.

In its stewardship role, the responsibilities of the Advisory Committee include:

- Recommending policies, procedures, and funding priorities to the CSU Chancellor;
- Assisting in selecting proposals to be funded;
- Developing criteria for project evaluation;
- Addressing specific needs and concerns of the CAPP partnerships;
- Recommending the continuation or conclusion of project funding each academic year; and
- Disseminating information about the statewide project to the general public.

A statewide CAPP director, housed in the office of the CSU Chancellor, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the program. The responsibilities of the director include, but are not limited to: administering the CAPP program office; developing and administering the program budget; monitoring projects and providing technical assistance as needed; conducting statewide information activities; seeking external funds to support project efforts; and facilitating the work of the Advisory Committee.

CALIFORNIA ACADEMIC PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM
Organizational Locus and Structure



The current director was appointed in late 1990 as part of a reorganization of the CSU Chancellor's Office. In a move seen as economizing administrative costs, CAPP was transferred from the Office of Academic Affairs into the CSU Institute for Teaching and Learning. Policy-makers had proposed moving CAPP administration to a CSU campus in order to conserve program expenses. However, strong opposition from the CAPP Advisory Committee, advocates of strong central office administrative support for the program, resulted in CAPP remaining within the CSU system headquarters.

The previous CAPP director, who had served since almost the very start of the program, retired suddenly in 1990 due to health reasons. Budget cuts within the CSU prohibited the hiring of a director from the outside the organization, and mandated the re-assignment of an existing CSU staff member slated for displacement. The new director had served as an associate dean in system-wide Office of Academic Affairs for nearly ten years; he was transferred into this position despite his lack of familiarity with secondary school programs, his training as a professor of germanic languages, and his expertise in administrative management rather than with educational program development.

CAPP Funding

Money to fund CAPP partnerships is appropriated by the state from General Fund revenue under the provisions of Sections 11000-11004 of the California Education Code. CAPP was initially funded for $1 million in 1984, and has received $1.5 million

each year since. Direct support of individual partnerships averages 82 percent of the total allocation, with the remaining funds devoted to project governance, evaluation, and administration. CAPP curriculum development partnerships specifically receive approximately $125,000 in their first year of funding, with funding decreases of 20 percent each subsequent year to encourage project institutionalization. Thus, over the course of a funding cycle, a CAPP curriculum development partnership receives approximately $300,000 in state support.

Since CAPP is part of the overall state General Fund budget, the program is subject to the various funding exigencies faced at the state level, including budget cuts by the Governor and the CSU Chancellor. That is, CAPP remains a line-item in the CSU budget, subject to reduction or elimination by the CSU Chancellor. For example, spending freezes and hiring restrictions at the CSU system office also apply to the CAPP program, despite its intersegmental nature and legislatively-mandated status. Moreover, despite the rhetoric of intersegmental cooperation and joint collaboration, CAPP is required to reimburse the CSU Chancellor's Office for rent of office space and associated expenses.

CAPP Evaluation

As part of CAPP's enabling legislation, CPEC was directed to evaluate the program after each funding cycle in order to determine the appropriateness of maintaining fiscal support for the program. In its first report, the Commission identified specific concerns with past annual evaluations conducted by the CAPP office, with criticism

focused on incomplete data, an inability to isolate the impact of CAPP activities, and a lack of attention to program outcomes. As a result of this report, while state funding for the program was continued, no increase in funding level was authorized. This maintenance of effort in program funding was considered by policy-makers as an indirect blow to the program, advancing the need for a quality evaluation of program implementation and outcomes.

Consequently, since 1987 the CSU has contracted with an independent evaluator to undertake an external assessment of the CAPP program. Findings from the external evaluation have validated the success of the program, with positive impacts in three major areas: student participation in postsecondary education and student preparation for college (especially for student populations of priority concern); curriculum and instructional practices; and relations between secondary and postsecondary faculty. These evaluation findings have been used to justify continued funding of this intersegmental effort each legislative budget session.

The Setting For Retrenchment

With the start of the 1990's, the fiscal picture for California as a whole appeared grim at best. California has historically enjoyed an economy that was sufficiently robust to provide adequate funding for education, health, environmental, and other public programs. But continued rapid growth in population, both from increased immigration and a surge in the birth rate, resulted in severe budgetary pressures and fierce competition for funds among state programs. These demographic trends, along with

lingering effects of the Proposition 13 tax limitation of 1978, and recession on a national scale, continued to produce budgetary gaps within the state. No matter how strong the anticipated economic recovery, the State will not be able to fund existing programs at current levels within projected tax revenues. In fact, the California Department of Finance has estimated that the imbalance between taxpayers and tax receivers could result in a $20 billion budget gap by the year 2000.

In February of 1991, projections for the state budget indicated a specific short fall in the CSU system of some $150 million. Because CAPP was housed within the CSU system headquarters, the program was subject to the CSU budgetary process and potential cuts, despite CAPP's position as a legislatively-mandated intersegmental effort. As a result, the CAPP director and Advisory Committee Chair forwarded a letter to the CSU Chancellor, pointing out the unique intersegmental status of CAPP and requesting consultation with each of the segments regarding any decision to reduce the CAPP budget for 1991-92. Although this letter received no official response, Advisory Committee members acknowledged the letter to be an expression of responsible concern by the Committee. In any event, funding was reduced by only a slight amount for 1991-92, in line with funding reductions faced by all intersegmental programs that funding year.

Unexpectedly, the CAPP director was invited to submit a budget change proposal for consideration by the intersegmental budget committee in September of 1991. This

$640,000 augmentation was designed to use Proposition 98 funds to support new CAPP curriculum development and dissemination projects. However, continued reductions in the state General Fund precluded funding for this augmentation.

Further, persisting declines in state revenues led to a similar funding reduction predicament in 1992 as in 1991. Again, comparable to other intersegmental programs, CAPP received only a slight reduction in the program budget for 1992-93. In part to abate this new trend of reduced annual funding, in September of 1992, a second budget augmentation was submitted for consideration (although reduced by 50 percent to meet anticipated reductions in the Governor's budget). Section 61110-197-001B of the 1993-94 Budget Act, "Intersegmental Programs: Underrepresented Students" proposed a $2 million direction of Proposition 98 revenue to meet this augmentation. But continued reductions in state funding rendered consideration of the request irrelevant; policy-makers remain convinced that this augmentation is but a futile exercise for 1993-94. More important, the dire fiscal climate of 1993 compared to that of the previous two years has raised concern that for the first time, significant cuts in the CAPP program can no longer be avoided in the coming year.

Analytical Paradigms

Burrell and Morgan have explored the role of paradigms as views of social reality, whereby the inherent assumptions about social science and the social world could be analyzed in terms of four broad world views. In their perspective, all social theories are based on a philosophy of science and a theory of society that lead to specific,

useful analytical frameworks. More specifically, two mutually exclusive approaches–the subjective and the objective–anchor the continuum of social science. The subjective approach considers the social world as a product of individual cognition, based on a social construction of reality. On the other hand, the objective perspective assumes that a true reality which can be labeled and measured exists independent of the social framework, with individuals controlled by situational or environmental variables.

In a similar vein, the nature of society can be categorized into two mutually exclusive domains. The sociology of regulation is concerned with why society works the way it does, focused on the status quo, consensus, and social integration. On the other hand, the sociology of radical change is based on the premise that conflict and contradiction are inherent aspects of society which must be considered in any social analysis.

Taken together, these characteristics support four basic paradigms, defined by their relative position within these domains of social science and sociology. The functionalist paradigm is based on the assumption that society has a concrete real existence, with behavior contextually bound in a world of tangible social relations. The interpretive approach recognizes that social reality is the product of the subjective experience of individuals, yet based within a framework of underlying pattern and order in the social world. The radical humanist view emphasizes that reality is socially

created, but focused within the alienating aspects of thought and action. Finally, the radical structuralist paradigm, tied to a view of reality defined by concrete, real structure, seeks to understand the ways in which those with power in society seek to control and dominate. In contrast to the functionalist and interpretive views, both of these radical perspectives focus attention on the political and exploitative aspects of organizational life.

These paradigms clearly embody different world views, lending themselves to different interpretations and explanations. Consequently, as noted by Milam, these four paradigms serve as useful starting points not only for detecting overall patterns in the social world, but for expanding the knowledge base of various aspects of retrenchment and other topics in the higher education arena. Two of these paradigms, the functionalist and the radical structuralist, specifically provide unique and different interpretations to the funding reductions currently faced by the CAPP program. The analysis of retrenchment from these different perspectives provides new insights in assessing the impacts of these fiscal changes on teaching and learning associated with this partnership effort. The case study which follows presents an interpretation of the management of the retrenchment for the CAPP program from both such perspectives.

Semi-structured interviews with program administrators and other key informants, a detailed review of program documents, and observational assessment of program

governance meetings all contributed to the specific analysis detailed below. In particular, the following documents from the Office of the Chancellor, the California State University were reviewed in support of this effort:

- CAPP Informational Brochure (1988)
- CAPP Mission Statement (1989)
- Minutes from all meetings of the CAPP Advisory Committee, including sub-committee meetings and teleconferences (1990-1993)
- CAPP Development Plan (1990)
- CAPP Briefings [program newsletter] (1991-1993)
- CAPP Request for Proposals 1992-93 Planning Grants (1991)
- CAPP Request for Proposals 1993-96 Curriculum Projects (1992)
- CAPP Intersegmental Budget Change Proposals (1991, 1992, 1993)
- California Education Code, Sections 11000-11004
- California Senate Bill 813 (1983), Assembly Bill 2398 (1984)

The Functionalist Perspective

The functionalist position emphasizes the status quo, harmony, and the social order, with conflict seen as transient and pathological. For the CAPP program, this functionalist perspective is best characterized by various statements and actions of the statewide director. For example, in preparation for a March 1993 Advisory Committee meeting, the director developed three detailed budget scenarios for the 1993-94 program year:

- one involving an across-the-board funding cut of 5 percent and the support of six new curriculum development projects;

- a second scenario included the 5 percent cut with the support of only five new curriculum development projects; and
- a third plan outlined a 10 percent across-the-board cut and the support of only five new curriculum development partnerships.

The notion of funding dissemination projects was not included in this budgetary plan, nor was the hiring of additional staff to support central office administration–a one-time priority of Advisory Committee. As noted by the director in his February 18, 1993 memorandum on the budget plans:

> *As you will quickly see, unless the proposed budget augmentation–revised now to $342,000–becomes a reality, funding for dissemination activities in 1993-94 will entail some very difficult trade-offs.*

In this functionalist perspective, the vehicle of straight-forward, across-the-board budget cuts is seen as appropriate and fitting to the reduced economic circumstances. The functionalist view highlights an administrative response focused on the internal technical requirements of the organization. No discussion of alternative approaches in conflict with existing funding priorities or program priorities is offered. That is, the premises of the current structure of program operations are taken as given; for instance, no challenge to the continued full-funding of the MDTP in light of fiscal difficulties is presented.

Moreover, the discourse as part of this functionalist view emphasizes the corporate language of downsizing in adapting quickly to mandates from the state regarding the reduced fiscal support. In just one example, notions of efficiency framed the overall discussion at the March 1993 Advisory Committee meeting, highlighting the

opportunity for across-the-board cuts as a reasonable, clean, and inevitable approach to retrenchment. As noted by the director, "*The across-the-board cuts seem the only possible approach for managing the change resulting from the fiscal down-turn.*" Across-the-board, straight percentage budget cuts are grounded in the presumption that the integrity of the whole remains intact in spite of such alterations.

Fundamentally, the CAPP program has adopted the strategies of the business enterprise in addressing retrenchment, seeking direct linkages with business. Committee members have suggested numerous approaches for involving business with the program, including the establishment of a separate business/industry advisory council, development of strong close personal ties to a key officer in a major corporation, identification of business initiatives with aims similar to CAPP goals, and expansion of relationships with the CEPC. Committee members have all agreed on the need to incorporate business into program operations. In congruence with the functionalist view, no one has questioned the appropriateness of the higher education enterprise adopting the business model to address retrenchment issues.

The CAPP director has also actively courted corporate business sponsors in an attempt to alleviate the shortfall in funding of CAPP efforts from the state. MDTP staff have also been encouraged to network with large corporations who might support program efforts, thereby reducing the need for one-third of the CAPP budget to be dedicated to this particular partnership effort. The director has also joined the board

of the CEPC and attended numerous school-business conferences, striving to expand this linkage with business community.

Further, in 1990, CAPP created a development plan to detail recommendations for the use of (anticipated) additional resources in conjunction with a capital campaign effort to augment the overall program. One liaison to the Committee, again using the language of business when detailing the history of the development plan, remarked:

> *The goal in drafting the 1990 plan was to move CAPP beyond the current level of activity . . . to use state dollars as seed money to leverage resources for education at the local level.*

Similarly, as outlined in a revision to the draft plan prepared by the CAPP director, "*The purpose of the CAPP development plan is to facilitate the accomplishment of the CAPP mission to optimize the benefits of the state's investment in the program.*" In addition, according to Committee members, the decision to require a business partner as part of each new CAPP curriculum partnership starting in 1993 was a direct outcome of this thinking about program development from a business perspective.

In a final example of this functionalist view, the CAPP director during the May 1993 Advisory Committee meeting specifically addressed the various rumors surrounding the 1993-94 budget. The director had already heard from a few sources that the complete elimination of CAPP, never before an option, would be seriously considered as part of the strategy to balance the 1993-94 budget. The director suggested that committee members plan an appropriate response to calls for the elimination of CAPP

or for sharp reductions in the program budget. However, several Committee members noted that the director appeared to over-react to these perceived threats. The Chair of the Advisory Committee specifically indicated:

> *We have been through this before, when other intersegmental programs, such as MESA, have faced elimination of funding. In the past, all of the segments have worked together to impress on the funding sources the legislative mandate for particular programs. We have not had any trouble with CAPP before, and I think it is premature to consider strategies to save CAPP until we reach that crisis stage.*

With consensus of the Committee, and despite displeasure on the part of the director, discussion of possible strategies to address this potential predicament were tabled, pending action on the new budget.

The Radical Structuralist View

In contrast to the functionalist perspective, the radical structuralist framework targets attention on conflict and contradiction. The comments of one segmental member of the CAPP Advisory Committee highlight this view in relation to CAPP program:

> *We must really think about our message. If the very survival of CAPP is an issue, then we should seriously consider voiding all budgetary scenarios proposed by [the director] and instead focus on fully-funding dissemination efforts and curriculum development. Dissemination is an important CAPP obligation which should be pursued more vigorously than it has been in the past.*

A high school principal of the Committee also concurred:

> *Everything must be up for grabs in the current funding situation–and I mean everything. We should consider other alternatives, like eliminating our quarterly committee meetings, questioning the fact that CAPP pays rent for office space from the CSU, or substantially scaling back the external evaluation, in order to meet our primary obligations and our overall mission of supporting these academic partnerships.*

Such views differ sharply from the functionalist, across-the-board approach for change typified by the CAPP director. The above excerpts present a radical change vision, based on fractionalization in the absence of genuine collective interest, and challenging the fundamental priorities and essential strengths of the entire program.

This radical view was also evident during a March 1993 Committee meeting. This meeting included vigorous discussion of the trade-offs involved in supporting significant dissemination activities at the cost of reducing the number of curriculum projects to only four. More fundamentally, certain Committee members questioned the appropriateness of funding such a small number of partnerships, given the overall mission of the CAPP program—which ultimately raises questions about the legitimacy of the enterprise. As noted by one Committee member:

> *We've gone from funding 23 projects the first time, to 12 in 1987, and now just 6. How can we continue to justify our existence with this kind of track record?*

While commitment to funding dissemination remained strong, several members were reluctant to reduce the number of curriculum projects below five. As noted in the minutes of this meeting:

> *Given the anticipated reduction in program funding, members expressed concern that support for dissemination could only come at the price of reducing the number of curriculum projects.*

The Advisory Committee has also attempted to alleviate financial constraints by sponsoring legislation to spin off the MDTP assessment partnership into its own separate program. While successfully obtaining passage of Assembly Bill 2240,

establishing MDTP as a completely distinct entity from CAPP, the Governor removed all funding from this legislation. Hence until funding becomes available, the MDTP has remained a part of the CAPP program, constraining nearly one-third of program budget. This example illustrates just one action of some Committee members to consider change and to challenge the status quo in this time of retrenchment.

Moreover, the larger conceptual parameters of the radical structuralist framework focus on the question of legitimacy and power, in this particular situation illuminating the domination of the CSU in program administration and funding decisions. Despite the intersegmental nature of the Advisory Committee, ultimately the Committee is purely advisory to the CSU Chancellor, who has final authority over program operations. The academic ideals of shared governance, clearly intended as part of the intersegmental CAPP Advisory Committee, conflict with the realities of the political economy.

For example, the voices of certain CAPP Advisory Committee members, with presumed equal authority in setting program direction and policy, were marginalized in discussions of the budget and when challenging fundamental changes in program funding. Not surprisingly, the majority of these Committee members who question the "business as usual" approach to program funding were ethnic minorities or women. Similarly, the representative of the CAPP projects to the Advisory Committee has also been excluded from discussions of the future funding of the program. Current project

directors, who hoped to compete for expanded dissemination project funding, expressed a strong sense of frustration at the limited amount of resources available for program efforts overall, and more important, the allocation of these funds. According to one project director:

> *I really don't understand what these people are doing. The whole framework of CAPP rests of funding curriculum partnerships and supporting dissemination efforts. How can taxpayers justify spending all this money on CAPP if only five new projects will be funded? To expect that three dissemination projects, funded at less than $30,000 each, will succeed in promoting the benefits of collaboration is a prescription for failure.*

Additionally, within the radial structuralist view, program administration serves not to manage program complexity, but rather to legitimate managerial dominance. The organizational structure is not equally functional for all members of the organization, reflecting a form of social relations to justify authority and control of social relations in pursuit of specific activities. The bureaucratic approach of the program director in establishing three scenarios for across-the-board funding cuts epitomizes this form of administration devoted to maintaining that bureaucracy–neither questioning the goals nor direction of the program.

Furthermore, as noted earlier, the CAPP program as a whole has leaped on the bandwagon of business support for school partnerships. From the radical perspective, this strong link with business is designed to locate the program in an advantageous position within the political economy, securing funding and program survival, not to better meet the educational needs of underrepresented youth. Several

Committee members perceived the requirement of business involvement in the new 1993-96 CAPP curriculum development partnerships primarily as a catalyst to expand ties to business and to obtain additional program funding. The lack of clear guidelines as to the roles and responsibilities of such representatives in the academic partnership lends credibility to this assessment.

CAPP has also positioned itself closer to fields privileged within the political economy to address the circumstances of retrenchment. For example, the new 1993-96 curriculum development projects target the mathematics subject area only, following the rhetoric of needed growth in high technology to return America to global market dominance. As described in the introduction of the Request for Proposals for 1992-93 CAPP planning grants (subtitled "School-College-Business Partnerships for Academic Success"):

> *Assumptions underlying American education are being challenged in response to the demands of global economic pressures and technological evolution. Growing awareness of declining U.S. competitiveness and of the links between schools and the workplace, have caused a reexamination of national educational standards.*

This emphasis on mathematics can also be seen as related to the power and legitimacy of such "hard" subjects as mathematics and science within the postsecondary sector. Math and science are also well-positioned to link with the business community and the larger political economy in marshalling external resources, further maintaining the power of these male-dominated fields. Thus, in this social constructivist view, administrators hope to avoid future funding cuts by

positioning the entire CAPP program closer to the market. Sheila Slaughter, among other researchers, has illustrated this trend in relation to the notion of technology transfer and intellectual property rights in the university environment.

Finally, given the current popularity of academic partnerships within the educational marketplace, the privileged status of these programs has supported an overall immunity to program budget cuts, at least until the present. Well-positioned close to the market, the CAPP intersegmental partnerships have been able to advocate against funding cuts in earlier years of the program, despite an overall trend of retrenchment in the educational arena. By seeking to position the program even more solidly within the market realm, administrators can be seen as striving to insulate the program from future reductions.

In short, according to the radical structuralist view, the social construction of the CAPP program remains in question. Not only are concerns raised regarding the appropriateness of across-the-board cuts without adequate review of entire program funding priorities, but the program can be seen as jockeying for an advantageous position within the political economy to escape future funding challenges.

Conclusion

Both the functional perspective and the radical structuralist framework offer contrasting interpretations that illuminate and expand the understanding of the retrenchment of the CAPP program. Traditional interpretation of retrenchment in higher education has

often restricted the analysis to an intra-organizational struggle between administrators and faculty. Yet the forces of the political economy brought to light through the radical structuralist lens illustrate the value-laden decisions revolving around retrenchment, fundamentally questioning the function, purpose, and direction of CAPP.

Hence the paradigms of Burrell and Morgan provide useful frameworks for the interpretation and analysis of social reality. In the parlance of David Tyack, new "ways of seeing" the underlying reasons and causes for action become evident through the different lenses of these paradigms, suggesting new directions for analysis. These perspectives further clarify the interpretation of behavior in light of these very different world views. This case study has presented just one example of how two very different paradigms can expand the understanding of retrenchment, offering additional insight into the notion of restructuring and program reduction.

Additional viewpoints, such as the interpretive paradigm, the radical humanist perspective, or Benson's concept of the interorganizational network, offer further views on the retrenchment of the CAPP program in contrast to some the views noted in this paper. Ultimately, power, resources, and rational myths all influence relations in defining policy and practice in response to retrenchment. The use of different analytical paradigms clarifies the importance of these factors which otherwise would be absent from a strictly functionalist view. Careful analysis of the management of environmental uncertainty and of the contradictory demands of the actors encourages further understanding of retrenchment. The different analytical frameworks serve as valued tools in this endeavor.

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Appendix

Glossary of Key Acronyms

AICCU	-	Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities
CAPP	-	California Academic Partnership Program
CCC	-	California Community Colleges
CCC-BOG	-	California Community Colleges Board of Governors
CEPC	-	California Educational Partnership Consortium
CPEC	-	California Postsecondary Education Commission
CSU	-	California State University
CSU-BOT	-	California State University Board of Trustees
ICC	-	Intersegmental Coordinating Council
MESA	-	Mathematics, Engineering, and Science Achievement
MDTP	-	Mathematics Diagnostic Testing Project
UC	-	University of California
UC-BOR	-	University of California Board of Regents